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LINDA DÉGH

Folklore and Related Disciplines in Eastern Europe

The science of folklore may be described as the study of oral art and literature, or more generally of all manifestations of culture expressed orally and maintained in tradition. This science developed later than the study of the material and social aspects of culture. Even though in its early stages the knowledge accumulated from the observation of primitive peoples played an important role, folklore studies in Europe emerged little more than a hundred years ago, and were directed at European materials.[1] Civilized peoples have long displayed an interest in the backward, primitive societies they have encountered. Only recently have scholars become interested in the roots of their own culture, and begun to study the lower layers of their own people. The revolutionary ideas of the second half of the eighteenth century generated by the Enlightenment brought to the fore the serf-peasant, who was linked with the "noble savage" of Montaigne.[2] The oppressed, hardworking peasant

[1] This paper was first presented at the seminar in Folklore Theory and Technique at Indiana University, February 25, 1964. From the numerous works written on the history and development of the science of folklore I will cite a few of the best: G. Cocchiara, *Storia del folklore in Europa* (Torino, 1952); A. v. Gennep, *Manuel de folklore français contemporain* (Paris, 1937-38); A. H. Krappe, *The Science of Folklore* (London, 1930); A. Varagnac, *Definition du folklore* (Paris, 1938); R. M. Dorson, "Current Folklore Theories," in *Current Anthropology*, IV (1963), 93-112; Ju. M. Sokolov, *Russkij folklor* (Moscow, 1941); M. K. Azadowskij, *Istorija russkoj folkloristiki* (Moscow, 1958); Gy. Ortutay, "The Science of Folklore in Hungary Between the Two World Wars and During the Period Subsequent to the Liberation," in *Acta Ethnographica*, IV (1955), 5-89; W. E. Peuckert and O. Lauffer, *Volkskunde, Quellen und Forschungen seit 1930* (Bern, 1951); L. Röhrich, "Die Märchenforschung seit dem Jahre 1945," *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, I (1955), 279-296, II (1956), 274-319, III (1957), 213-224, 494-514.

[2] Cocchiara, pp. 34-39.

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came to be viewed as a receptacle of moral ideas, a carrier and preserver of the virtues of the heroic age, and a symbol posed against the degenerate urban society.[3] At the same time the Romantics beheld the heroic past and an unspoiled world in the poetry of the peasant. Herder, the great romantic, in 1783 and again in 1788 published his collection of folksongs, entitled *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*, "Voice of the People in Songs."

This epochal book (to which Goethe contributed), an anthology of songs of many peoples, including primitives, inspired collecting work all over the continent. To set rural and urban life against each other as opposing symbols of purity and degeneracy has been commonplace since antiquity. Ancient historians as well as geographers frequently pointed out this antagonism.[4] But two thousand years later Bishop Percy, Herder, the Grimm brothers, and the great team of Romantics found another meaning in this banal idea. To them it pointed up the misery of the rapidly increasing number of city-dwelling laborers as a consequence of the industrial revolution. The idea of pastoral simplicity served to promote the liberation of the peasants from the bondage of serfdom, and to assist in the struggle for independence of peoples living under foreign rule. The political ideal of the national unity of the Germans,[5] the rise of nationalistic consciousness in Russia as a consequence of the Napoleonic wars,[6] and the struggle for national independence of many Central and East European peoples living under Austrian, Russian, or Turkish rule were all closely connected with the discovery of folk poetry. As a reaction against foreign oppression, nationalists sought to restore the cultural heritage of their people as a claim of readiness for political independence. It was fashionable to think that ruling classes had become alienated from the national virtues; the uneducated serfs were the only preservers of the

[3] Cocchiara, pp. 96-111.

[4] P. Sorokin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, 4 Vols. (Minneapolis, 1930-32), I.

[5] As expressed in the writings and activities of J. Möser, W. H. Riehl, F. L. Jahn and others. See A. v. Tiegheim, *L'ère romantique, l'influence romantique sur les littératures européennes* (Paris, 1948); M. Bachmann, "Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl," dissertation ms. Dresden, 1958; K. J. Liebreich, "Der Volkstumbegriff bei Jahn und bei Arndt," dissertation ms. Köln, 1956.

[6] Attention to folk poetry was initiated by Kirša Danilov's song collection from the Urals as early as the second half of the eighteenth century. But the effect of the Kireevskij brothers was much greater. Their collection was inspired by their Germanistic studies, and they turned the interest of historians and men of letters toward folk literature as an expression of nationalistic ideas. See M. K. Azadowskij, *Literatura i folklor* (Moscow, 1938), pp. 138-153.

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traditions of the ancestors. This kind of ideology led to the linking of political aspirations with the collecting of folklore and to the search for folk poetry as a symbol of national independence. The first Serbian folklore collection, edited in exile by Stepan Vuk Karadžić, was dated 1815, the year of the liberation from the Turkish yoke.[7] On the first page of the third volume of the first Hungarian folklore collection, edited by János Erdélyi, appears the date March 15, 1848, the very date of the outbreak of the Revolution.[8] Traditional national costumes (boots, spurs), foods, styles of hair-do, and dances were preferred to the cosmopolitan modes coming from the hated ruling oppressors.[9]

All these factors played a part in the stimulation of folklore collecting and were present in the background of the development of folklore scholarship. The Grimm brothers sought to construct the nationalistic science of Germanistics, and in fact contributed to the foundation of several branches of the humanities: linguistics, mythology, legal history, comparative literature, and folklore. Their contribution to the establishment of the science of folklore is known and appreciated by all modern research scholars, even if they do not agree altogether with the German folklorists who still largely work on the basis of the Grimms' ideas.[10]

In the beginning the method of folklore research was adapted from that of comparative literature; that is, folklore formed a specialized branch of comparative literature. Like Herder, the Grimm brothers and their successors distinguished between two kinds of poetry, "Naturpoesie"

[7] This small booklet appeared in Vienna and was later extended into the ten volumes of *Srpske narodne pjesme* (1841-46) that had almost as great an influence on European literature as *Ossian* or Percy's *Reliques*. See M. Murko, *La Poésie épique en Yougoslavie au début du XXe siècle* (Paris, 1929); A parallel development can be observed in the history of Bulgarian folklore scholarship. See A. Strausz, *Bulgarische Volksdichtungen* (Wien und Leipzig, 1895), pp. 1-22.

[8] J. Erdélyi, *Népdalok és mondák* [Folksongs and Legends] (Pest, 1946, 1947, 1948).

[9] Patriots and poets popularized these national symbols and even folk poetry and semi-literary genres were affected by them. See A. Ficher, *Etnografia slowianska* (Lwow, 1934); L. Kálmány, *Történeti énekek és katonadalok* (Budapest, 1952), pp. 115-117, 214-40.

[10] J. Bolte and G. Polívka, "Die Sammlungen der Brüder Grimm," in *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1932), 419-87. A whole library could be filled with books written as a result of their inspiration. The tribute paid to the memory of Jakob Grimm on the 100th anniversary of his death (1936) by two leading German folklore journals reveal their unsurpassable contribution to our science. *Hessiche Blätter für Volkskunde*, LIV (1963) and *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, IX (1963) dedicated their entire volumes to articles on the Grimms.

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and "Kunstpoesie," the two continuously affecting one another.[11] This distinction is accepted by modern folklorists and historians of literature.[12] Oral and written literature are historically and functionally in mutual contact, and they cannot be analyzed apart from each other.[13] This is not the time to go into details and deal with the evolution of the method of the Grimms, nor to consider the merits of their followers; it is sufficient to point out that the comparative philological method developed continuously, eliminating the nationalistic tendencies.[14] The formation of this branch of folklore study evolved through Benfey's Indic and wandering theory,[15] the opposing view of Joseph Bédier[16] and finally the achievements of Kaarle Krohn and the Finnish historical-geographical method.[17]

Simultaneously with the development of the philological method, a new aspect emerged in the study of folklore with the broadening of the field of research. The pioneer representatives of the British school of anthropology were also interested in the folklore of the peasants; in fact, they created the word *folk-lore* in 1846, replacing the former *popular antiquities*. But the evolutionist students of primitive cultures were led to the collection of folk speech, folk poetry, custom, and belief by the pursuit of a very different goal. In the poetry of the peasants the anthropologists endeavored to reveal the survivals of the early stages of

[11] Cocchiara, pp. 274-78.

[12] M. Lüthi, "Märchen und Literaturwissenschaft" and "Volkskunde und Literatur-Wissenschaft" in *Volksmärchen und Volkssage* (Bern, 1961), pp. 145-184.

[13] K. Marót, *A népköltészet elmélete és magyar problémái* [Folklore Theory and the Hungarian Problems of Folklore] (Budapest, 1949); Gy. Ortutay, *Népköltészet és müköltészet* [Folklore and Literature] (Budapest, 1941); E. Rath, "Volksbuch und Volksmund," in *Zeitschrift der histor. Vereins f. Steiermark*, Jg. XLV (1954), 131-144; R. Hagen, *Der Einfluss der Perraultschen Contes auf das volkstümliche deutsche Erzählgut und besonders auf die KHM der Brüder Grimm* (Göttingen, 1954).

[14] Such as the quest of ancient mythology with the Germans (F. Strich, *Die Mythologie in der deutschen Literatur von Klopstock bis Wagner*, Halle, 1910), and the Panslav aspirations that brought folklore scholarship of the Czechs, Slovaks and Poles into existence (Cocchiara, pp. 292-294; J. Jech, *Tschechische Volksmärchen*, Berlin, 1963), and especially the Russian Slavophile trend (Sokolov, pp. 50-56). All these nationalistic tendencies, so essential in the formation of European folklore studies, slowed down their scientific development. This was particularly true in Russia, where the comparative method, introduced by A. N. Vesselovskij, the great scholar of historical poetry, and his followers (Sokolov, pp. 69-70, 80-86) in opposition to the patriotic use of folk-literature, was ridiculed even by Saltikov-Scedrin, the noted satirical poet.

[15] Th. Benfey, *Pantschatantra* (Leipzig, 1859).

[16] J. Bédier, *Les Fabliaux* (Paris, 1893).

[17] K. Krohn, *Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode* (Oslo, 1926); A. Aarne, *Leitfaden der vergleichenden Märchenforschung* (= *FFC* 13) (Hamina, 1913).

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mankind and the social institutions of primitive peoples.[18] The motive for their interest in folklore was not to become acquainted with the forms of oral poetry themselves but to study folklore material as a means by which culture is expressed. The attitude of anthropologists toward folklore is the same today; however, their research methods were, and are, very instructive for modern folklore scholarship.[19]

Meanwhile the study of so-called material culture was being shaped into an independent discipline, dividing itself from such affiliated fields as statistics, demography, geography, history, sociology, and agrarian history. This discipline is closely connected with folklore because its subject of research is the European peasantry. More correctly, it deals with folk-cultures existing within national or ethnic units shared with civilized cultures,[20] or *non-folk* cultures (I borrow this term from R. Redfield, the distinguished American anthropologist). Redfield[21] and many others demonstrated that folk cultures can be explored anywhere outside Europe where rural and urban societies are juxtaposed. The study of peasant culture – that is, the study of the material, social, and spiritual culture[22] of the folk – does not mean research into the primitive (folk societies being far from primitive), but rather research into the traditional, in comparison to the non-folk cultures, which are consciously detached from the bonds of tradition. At the Brussels Congress of European Ethnography in 1962 it became clear to the participants that more and more our goal is becoming a study of what seems to be the expression of traditional human culture. This study may lead us to a more thorough understanding of man. If understanding of mankind is our common purpose, why should we isolate related studies from each other simply because in the investigation of culture we may choose, according to our taste and abilities, different rubrics such as economy, society, or oral art? Why should we separate disciplines from each other just because their field of research lies in different areas such as among

[18] G. L. Gomme, *The Handbook of Folk-Lore* (London, 1890), pp. 1-7; Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore* (London, 1892).

[19] While "anthropological folklorists" are still very scarce (A. H. Gayton in *American Anthropologist*, L (1948), 132). one can point to the writings of M. Jacobs, R. Lowie and M. Herskovits. General references are in J. L. Fischer, "The Socio-psychological Analysis of Folktales," *Current Anthropology*, III (1963), 235-273.

[20] E. Hoffmann-Krayer, *Die Volkskunde als Wissenschaft* (Zürich, 1902).

[21] R. Redfield, *The Little Community – Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago, 1961).

[22] As is shown in most of the handbooks, like D. Zelenin, *Russische (ostslawische) Volkskunde* (Leipzig, 1927) and R. Weiss, *Volkskunde der Schweiz* (Zürich, 1946).

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primitives, ancient civilizations, peasants, or the small town bourgeoisie?

Up to now I have deliberately avoided naming the disciplines related to folklore. The European terminologies are diverse because of their different evolution and would have been confusing in outlining our areas of common interest. But at this point it is worth examining some of the more important terms.

From the beginning the Germans have distinguished between *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde* (the latter being the plural of the former), that is, between the description of their own culture and the study of the primitives. There is considerable difference in the training of specialists in each of the two fields. *Völkerkunde* is an independent discipline[23] having its own department at the universities and museums. *Volkskunde*, however, is simply a branch of Germanistics, which is the teaching of the cultural history of the German folk as part of the larger subject of German language and literature. W. Steinitz recently pointed out the senselessness of dividing a science solely on the basis of which peoples interest us – ourselves or others.[24] The same distinction is made by other European scholars with the names of *Ethnography*, meaning descriptive European studies, and *Ethnology*, meaning the comparative study of primitives.[25] In the Soviet Union the two had been unified under *Ethnography*, covering approximately the same field of research as cultural anthropology in collaboration with mythology, folklore, archeology, prehistory, physical anthropology, cultural geography, and statistics.[26] But these related disciplines are used only so far as they can procure materials for *Ethnography*. Folklore is studied as a branch of literature,[27] while university departments and scientific programs of folklore belong to institutions dealing with the history of literature.[28] Because of this fact students of folklore have no contact with ethnographers. Oral

[23] W. Mühlmann, *Methodik der Völkerkunde* (München, 1938).

[24] W. Steinitz, "Volkskunde und Völkerkunde," *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, II (1956), 269-275.

[25] S. Solymossy, "Az ethnológia tárgyköre és módszerei" [The Subject and the Method of Ethnology], *Ethnographia*, XXXV (1926), 1-22.

[26] Best represented by the structure of the *Sovietskaja etnografija* (since 1931), the official journal of the Ethnographical Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow.

[27] As first formulated by Gorkij, *O Literature. Slati i reci, 1928-1936* (Moscow, 1937), pp. 450-481. The Soviet conception of the identity of folklore and literature is discussed by Sokolov, pp. 5-33.

[28] F. Oinas, "Folklore Activities in Russia," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXXIV (1961), 368-369.

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literature is considered as an earlier stage of written literature; therefore school books of literature start with the teaching of folklore.[29] Scholars in the Soviet Union are interested in the aesthetic value of folklore – the artistic creation and reflection of reality in folklore genres.[30]

As a result of the progress of research work in the different branches of our science and the rapid spread of civilization in our times, many European students of culture were led to recognize that not only was it necessary for descriptive and comparative methods to be united into one science, but that research must also be undertaken into the different aspects of culture. For after having accumulated such an immense amount of material, it would be impossible to be satisfied with a mere description or with any kind of one-sidedness in the adaptation of research methods. Hence Swedish students first employed comparative methods in European folk-culture studies, mostly adopting American techniques.[31] The Viennese School of Ethnology, called *Kulturhistorische Schule*, giving up the Kulturkreis theory, began to interest itself in the process of acculturation and is no longer averse to doing work on peasant cultures.[32] In the field of folklore, with followers and critics of the orthodox Finnish method reaching a deadlock, more and more students have tried to work out new approaches on the basis of sociological, psychological, and anthropological methods.[33] Many folklorists began to make mention in their writings of Malinowski's famous lines concerning how to collect and understand the genres of folklore on the basis of their function[34] (though unfortunately not all made use of his suggestions).

[29] A good example is A. A. Kaiev's *Russkaja literatura*, 2 Vols. (Moscow, 1949). The first chapter of this college chap-book deals exclusively with the history of folklore and the genres of folk literature (pp. 3-180) as the antecedents of literature. The teaching program in Folklore at Soviet universities was formulated by P. D. Uxov in *Metodičeskie ukazanija po kursu "Russkoe narodnoe tvorčestvo"* (Moscow, 1956).

[30] M. Ja. Melc, "Voprosi teorii folklore: Material k bibliografii," *Russkij folklor*, V (1960), 441-454.

[31] S. Erixon, "Regional European Ethnology," *Folk Liv*, 1937, 89-108; 1938, 236-294.

[32] J. Haekel, ed., *Wiener Schule der Volkskunde* (Wien, 1956).

[33] K. Ranke, "Einfache Formen," *Internationaler Kongress der Volkserzählungsforscher in Kiel und Kopenhagen. Vorträge und Referate* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 5-11; Ranke, "Betrachtungen zum Wesen und zur Funktion des Märchens," *Studium Generale*, Jahrg. 11, Heft 11 (1958), 647-664.

[34] *Myth in Primitive Psychology* (London, 1926), pp. 29-30, 34-35, 54; W. R. Bascom, "Folklore and Anthropology," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXVI (1953), 283-290, and "Four Functions of Folklore," *JAF*, LXVII (1954), 333-349.

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Hungarian folklorists from the late thirties onward also employed many of Malinowski's field-research methods and theories.[35] Indeed Malinowski's approach, Boas' doctrines, and the experiments of the latter's followers, were important in my studies concerning folklore, its function in the community, and its relationship *vis a vis* the personalty of creative individuals.[36]

Having been trained in philology, ethnography, and ethnology as well as in folklore, it is my opinion that the folklorist agrees with the anthropologist insofar as understanding folklore (or social organization, agriculture, or crafts) goes; he tries to understand culture. The difference, as I indicated above, lies only in the choice of subject. But there is one decisive fact that brings the folklorist and the anthropologist together, this being the method of securing material for analysis. Neither uses written sources primarily, as do the students of history, literature, and other related studies. The folklorist or anthropologist seeks his data from living sources; he observes use and function, and he fixes on paper what he hears and sees. The information collected is his most important source, the basis on which his research is built. His tape records and notebooks are full of intentional data about informants along with his own observations and comments, put on paper on the spot ready for analytical and theoretical use. The collected texts are then analyzed on the basis of the social and economic life of the individual informants and the community. This is the best way of achieving a profound understanding of folklore texts as expressions of the given community. After this kind of analysis, our material will be ready for further comparative study and placement in a national and international context.[37]

Perhaps some will think that this is not actually folklore research at all, but does being a folklorist mean only the collection and analysis of lifeless texts written down on paper? In any event, we are first of all interested in one question which I think is the essential aim of all research: what kind of needs created folklore forms and why do these forms continue their existence up to this day? To find an answer to this question we have to leave our desk piled up with text collections and

[35] Gy. Ortutay, *Fedics Mihály mesél* [M. Fedics Tells His Stories] (Budapest, 1940), pp. 5-19; Ortutay, *Acta Ethnographica*, IV (1955), 55-56.
[36] L. Dégh, *Märchen, Erzähler und Erzählgemeinschaft dargestellt an der ungarischen Volksüberlieferung* (Berlin, 1962).
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

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first ask the opinions of the bearers of tradition, instead of taking for granted our own judgment, arrived at by text analysis. I am also sure that other manifestations of culture must be studied in the same manner. Is it possible to understand the family organization of a group if we do not know its system of belief and methods of production? Or do we ever understand the description of the techniques of harvesting without being familiar with the connected rituals? These principles are by no means novelties, but since Malinowski's functional method became known their adaptation for research work in the field of European folklore certainly has proved a very effective innovation. The advancing progress of civilization has driven folk cultures out of the greater part of Europe; however, in many parts the interesting process of the decay of tradition may still be observed. In Central and East Europe, archaic peasant cultures have not died as yet, thanks to the coincidence of specific historical factors. Although the giant mechanization of the last fifteen years has had an enormous impact, and we can witness the rapid disappearance of ancient ways of life in the villages from one day to the next, it is still possible to study folk tradition in full bloom. This being the case, we can work amid favorable conditions. We have access to all the results of folklore scholarship and materials up to the present day, and, endowed with this knowledge, we can select the best methods in research work dealing with the various material, spiritual, and social aspects of traditional folk culture.

In the Soviet Union and in the Socialist countries as well, the governments support academic research. Large central, district, and local museums collect and preserve the documents of the past. One of the many means of public education has been the gathering of local traditions, and the consciousness of the people has grown considerably as a result of the encouragement of amateur collecting. Workers and peasant clubs have even formed performing groups to show and revive the old dances, ballads, and folk dramas on festive occasions which they collected themselves from their fathers. All this activity conforms with the so-called "national policy" for the cultivation of folk traditions as part of the national heritage. Folklore is considered to be the main source of contemporary artistic and literary creation.[38]

[38] General reference should be made to the journal *Demos. Ethnographische und Folkloristische Information* (begun in 1960), offering detailed information on the publications and activities in the field of folklore and ethnography in Albania, Bul-

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In many respects the study of the folk furnished extremely valuable material to the Soviet government. The ethnohistory of the small peoples just abandoning their clan system, the new methods of labor division and work in the kolhoz-village, the revolutionary songs and the folklore of the industrial worker, to mention only some of the fields of research, were especially useful. In all countries scientific activities are supported and directed by the academies, and institutes were founded for the undertaking of large teamwork projects which could not have been accomplished otherwise. Examples of such activity are the building up of archives, systematic collection of material, serial publication of monograph works covering the whole ballad body, the complete byliny material, and the whole melody corpus, and the organizing of networks of amateur collectors.

It goes without saying that many well trained experts are needed for the accomplishment of the emerging tasks. The programs of instruction at the universities are very much alike. The first to work out an elaborate teaching program was the Eötvös-University of Budapest, and this program was later adapted through adjustment of views by the Czech, Slovak, and the Rumanian (Prague, Bratislava, and Bucaresti) university departments of Folklore and Ethnography. What follows is a short outline of this teaching program.[39]

There has been a Department of Hungarian Ethnography at the Budapest University since 1934, but the student could obtain a qualification only by taking the courses offered in connection with some other subject. In 1947 two departments were founded, one of Folklore and one of Material Culture; together they formed a unit with a common library and seminar and shared the education of specialists in both ethnography and folklore. The aim of the training, established by the committee, is as follows: "... the training of experts who by obtaining a high-level knowledge of European and general ethnology in the fields of material, social, and spiritual culture are qualified to work in ethnological museums, scientific research institutes or in institutions of public education." During the five year training period the student takes courses in the following subjects: Material Culture of the Hungarian People,

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garia, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the Soviet Union.

[39] The program was elaborated by the fellows of the Departments of Ethnography and of Folklore of Eötvös-University in 1963.

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Folklore of the Hungarian People, Peoples of Europe, European Folklore and Ethnography, Peoples of the World (the continents), History of the Development of Folklore and Ethnography, and Research Methods and Theories. All these subjects have their fixed programs running from two terms up to eight. Beyond these the student must take special courses in archeology, museology, linguistics, medieval literature, physical anthropology, and history as applied to specific needs (such as history of the peasantry, dialectology, etc.). Examinations are taken after the second and fourth years. In the fifth year the student completes his thesis, which must be defended before a committee at the end of the year. During this final twelve month period the student is employed to work through all departments of the Museum of Ethnography.

Collecting techniques are taught in seminars and in the field. In the first year seminar students are instructed in the elementary techniques of scientific work (how to behave in the field, how to collect material both in the field and from written manuscript materials, how to write a scientific article). The students have their own appointed places for fieldwork, and collecting excursions are organized yearly to gather both folkloristic and ethnographic data. In the third year the student has to decide whether to write his thesis in folklore or ethnography, and from the beginning of this year is given a certain sum of money for field trips in order that he may collect material for his thesis. This course of training is also followed at the University of Debrecen.

After having obtained his degree, the student may continue working on his thesis for a Ph. D., but it is much more important that everyone with a good university record and showing promising scientific work and publications, apply for admittance to become a so-called aspirant. The Academy of Sciences gives the degree of Candidate to those who perform some scientific work of outstanding importance during a period of three years. The aspirant is examined by an elected committee, and he must defend his thesis in an open discussion. Candidature is not only a title, but it means a monthly sum of money given so long as the candidate continues doing scientific work. There is another degree of higher quality, the doctor's degree, granted by the Academy of Sciences for a monograph of even higher quality.

After 1949 all museums in the country came under public ownership. This action started a new period of great prosperity in museology. The country museums were not of an especially high caliber until that

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time, since they had served primarily as civil-list pension jobs for retired teachers rather than what they should have been – local cultural centers. Under the control of the Department of Museums in the Ministry of Education, all local museums were repaired, and as a result of the new teaching program well-trained experts in such fields as archeology, ethnology, fine arts, and natural history were appointed in every museum as they were needed. These individuals initiated collecting work and built up permanent and temporary exhibitions. In the last fifteen years museums have truly become scientific centers in their areas for folklore and ethnographic research work. From our point of view the most important is the Ethnological Museum of Budapest with its famous collections (especially its New Guinea, Ugric, and African collections), and its library and archives containing a copy of all collected materials), with thirty-seven specialists in charge. Although the Ethnographic Museum of Budapest has the leading part in the cooperative scientific work done in all ethnographic museums in the country, all are under the control of the Academy of Sciences. All folklore and ethnographic work is carefully planned and coordinated by a committee of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore at the Academy, composed of elected members of both fields. This institute is undertaking great collective works, such as an ethnographic atlas, a monograph of the folklore of the Hungarian people, tale and legend indexes, a folksong text index, bibliographies, a lexicon of customs, an encyclopedia of folk medicine, a complete ballad edition, and cooperative field projects, for instance village monographs and studies of migration and interethnic contacts. According to an exchange plan with Slovak neighbors, their experts work in a Slovak village of Hungary, and Hungarian scholars do likewise in a Hungarian village in Slovakia. Similar studies are being carried on by the Rumanians and Croatians. The Institute of the Academy gives financial assistance to all specialists working anywhere if they take part in the planned work. Similar research work is done in other Institutes of the Academy too (Literature, History, Psychology, Philosophy, and others). The Academy is the publisher of the *Acta Ethnographica*, appearing in foreign languages, and of all scientific works. The seventy-five year old *Ethnographia* is the periodical of the Hungarian Ethnographical Society. Besides organizing monthly lectures and one annual conference, this society does much for the popularization of our science. Speaking of popularization, I should mention that a great public in-

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terest has developed in folklore and folk art. Two publishing houses are issuing series of folktales of the world, one for adults and one for youth. Twenty-five volumes have appeared in the first and seven in the latter, all edited and annotated by experts. Decorative folk art, folk music, and folk dance are being introduced into public education and adapted by artists, composers, and choreographers.[40]

On the basis of the same kind of teaching program, folklore work is progressing along similar lines. In Czechoslovakia, folklore research has been undertaken since 1951 by the specialists of the Institute for Folklore and Ethnography of the Academy in Prague and its branches in Brno and Olomoutz. A large team of folklorists is working on several themes, especially historic legend, historic song, and a legend and tale catalog. They have undertaken cooperative projects in a mining district and in the settlement of a large industrial plant, and have already published many parts of their results. Another team project is being carried on among Czech minority groups in Rumania and Germany. Their collection of industrial worker's folklore is very significant. In the Institutes of the Slovak Academy in Bratislava and Košice, for the most part devoted to the field of ethnography and folk art, there is considerable work being done. The attractive periodical *Český lid* and the two journals *Československé etnografie* and *Slovensky národopis* give thorough information concerning activities of the Czechoslovakian institutions.[41]

Though the teaching at the East German universities is not at all satisfactory, there is an Institut für deutsche Volkskunde at the Academy in Berlin with two branches in Dresden and Rostock. The Institute was founded in 1951 by Adolf Spamer, the great German scholar. After his death in 1953, W. Steinitz (the noted Finno-Ugrist, Germanist and Slavist, who is more a linguist than a folklorist) succeeded him. In collaboration with Steinitz, the well trained pupils of Spamer started a large project,[42] endeavoring to take into their hands the coordination of studies done in the Socialist countries, both in folklore and in ethnography, and

[40] T. Dömötör, "Ethnographische Forschungen in Ungarn 1950-62," *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, LIV (1963), 665-674; Á. Kovács, "Die ungarische Märchenforschung der letzten Jahrzehnte," *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, IV (1958), 453-466; *Demos*, I (1960), 111-114.

[41] Report on the activities of the Institutes of Ethnography and Folklore at both the Czech and Slovak Academies are in *Demos*, I (1960), 103-111, III (1962), 114-217.

[42] *Demos*, I (1960), 114-122.

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to maintain contact with the Western folklore scholarship. Their goals are well represented by the excellent periodical *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, the informative journal *Demos*, and the monograph series *Veröffentlichungen des Institut für deutsche Volkskunde*.[43] Their activity is shown in many fields. Fine work is being produced in areas concerning revolutionary song collecting, workers' folklore, ordering and classifying historical legend material, and the annotation of the manuscripts of the late Richard Wossidlo.[44]

As mentioned before, in the Soviet Union the Institute of Ethnography in Moscow and its branches in the Soviet Republics do not collaborate with the folkloristic institutes. The former belong to the class of historical disciplines at the Academy, and ethnography is treated as a special field of history. They are interested in economy, settlement, society, mode of life, ethnogenetics, ancient history, evolution, and the cultural contacts of both primitives and peasant cultures all over the world. They publish *Sovetskaja etnografija* and *Kratkie Soobscenija*, in addition to the *Peoples of the World* series and monographs which are based on teamwork field trips. An ethnographic atlas is in preparation. Although there is a chair of Folklore at the University of Moscow, the center of folklore research is Leningrad. Here there is a department at the University, and, in addition, both the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) and the Institute of World Literature (Gorki Institute) have folklore sections. These latter have the leading role in folklore research in the Soviet Union. Folklore departments at the Ethnographical Institutes take part in ethnographical expeditions, but the archive material of their collections is not available for folkloristic research.[45] In the course of the last ten years the Asadowskij-Sokolov approach has been thrust into the background[46] and now the work is led by the pupils of the historical school. Two great scholars, Propp and Zhirmunskij, both followers of Vesselovskij, have become the authorities. Because of this change, folklorists readapted the formerly abandoned comparative-philological method of research, which does not stress fieldwork collect-

[43] Some thirty volumes have appeared since 1951.
[44] *Demos*, III (1962), 9-11, IV (1963), 237-238.
[45] *Demos*, I (1960), 97-103, IV (1963), 232-234.
[46] The exaggeration of the importance of individual authorship in folklore creation led to the present rejection of the great achievements of those pioneers who first discovered the decisive role of gifted personalities among the folk. See V. P. Anikin, "Kollektivnost kak sushost tvorcesto processa v folklore," *Russkij folklor*, V (1960), 7-24.

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ing. The focus of their interest is the epos, that is, the historic and heroic poetry of various peoples of the Soviet Union.[47] They plan to publish and analyze practically all available texts in the course of the coming ten years. Other plans for future work are still being discussed, often amid fervent debate; these include the history of folklore (meaning the evolution of folklore forms in correlation with the evolution of society), the artistic means of folklore creation, aesthetic values in folklore, and "textology" (analysis of style).[48]

Space is too limited to discuss all the work in progress in the countries of East Europe, but in conclusion it is worth mentioning the brilliant work done in the Folklore Institute of Bucharest.

It is a matter of course that scholarly interest abounds in a country where folk poetry, folk drama, ritual, belief, dance, and music are vital parts of existing peasant and shepherd communities, easily observed by the folklorist. Though collecting work is done by several educational institutions and museums spread all over the country, the Folklore Institute of Bucharest and its branch dealing with the Hungarian minority in Cluj have assumed the lead in undertaking a far-flung, organized program of field collecting. Succeeding the Folk Music Institute, it was founded in 1949 by the famous scholar Professor Brailoiu with the collaboration of Béla Bartók, the great Hungarian composer and folklorist who classified Rumanian folk music. The Institute today, under the chairmanship of Mihai Pop, who is professor of Folklore at the University of Bucharest, consists of three sections: one for music, with twenty-four experts, one for folk literature, with sixteen, and one for choreography, with seven. There are also a great many more specialists giving technical assistance (such as transcribing tapes and developing films), recording in the field, and preserving materials as authentically as possible in the archives. Understandably, the members of the Institute for the time being are primarily involved in collecting work. Teams of two to six members systematically investigate the designated areas. Today thirty thousand melodies on cylinders, twelve thousand tape records, and five

[47] V. M. Zhirmunskij, "Epičeskoe tvorčestvo slavianskih narodov i problema sravnitelnogo izucenija eposa"; V. Ja. Propp, "Russkij geroiceskij epos," and "Osnovnie etapi razcitiha russkogo geroičeskogo eposa." The studies of both authors appear in *Isledovanija po slavianskomu literaturoveleniju i folkloristike* (Moscow, 1960).

[48] All these plans are under discussion as main topics at conferences, as reviewed by B. N. Putylov in *Demos*, I (1960), 97-103; Putylov, "O nekotorix problemax izučenija istoričeskij pesni," *Russkij folklor*, V (1960), 25-55.

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thousand gramophone discs are preserved in the archives, in addition to those tunes written down in manuscripts. More than eighteen thousand folk narratives have been recorded, and indexing has been in progress for the last three years. Members of the Institute are working on a typology of the genres of folk narrative, a general bibliography of Rumanian folklore, and a typology of tunes. Until now they have not published extensively, although the monthly review *Revista de Folclor* has been appearing since 1956 and gives one an idea of the extensive work that is being carried on.[49] In September, 1963, the Ethnographic Institute of the Rumanian Academy was annexed to the Institute, and the whole came under the control of the Academy.

This is, in short, what can be said about the historic antecedents and formation of the science of folklore in Europe, its contact with related disciplines, and the direction of recent research work in East and Central Europe. In all folklore institutions the greatest emphasis is laid on collecting. This is the most urgent task of present day activities because of the rapid disappearance of material. But since folklore scholarship today is on a much higher level, having learned from related disciplines, collecting work has to be more precise than in the past when text analysis was the main goal of collection. This means, in fact, learning everything possible concerning the informant as well as the texts themselves, and includes such steps as recording all folklore material possible from each informant, noting his life history and social background, checking his sources and learning, questioning the members of the community, both active and passive bearers of tradition, with respect to local folkways, their structure and composition, observing the communal function of the folklore genre in question, and reexamining the above points after one or two (or more) years have elapsed. Folklore material collected according to these principles may give valuable and authentic information about different types of creative personalities representing the ideas of the given culture and response of the community, and may lead to the identification of specific characteristics of an ethnic unity. Such a method of research may give clear insights

[49] "The Institute of Folklore in Bucharest," *Demos*, III (1962), 2223-28; M. Pop, "Problemele şi perspectivele folcloristicii noastră," *Revista de Folclor*, I (1956), 9-32; S. C. Stroescu, "Dîn activitate Institutului de Folkclore," *Revista de Folclor*, I (1956), 296-304; C. Barbulescu and others, "Unele realizări ale folcloristicii romînesti în cei 15. ani de la eliberare," *Revista de Folclor*, IV (1959), 11-21. In 1964 the journal was retitled Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor.

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into the characteristics and quantity of local tradition and folklore stock of one given functional group, but it would require more similarly minute analyses to gain reliable material for further synchronic and diachronic studies.[50]

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[50] L. Dégh, "Latenz und Aufleben des Märchengutes einer Gemeinschaft," *Rheinisches Jahrbuch*, X (1959), 23-39; Dégh, "Die schöpferische Tätigkeit des Erzählers," *Internationaler Kongress in Kiel* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 63-73; Dégh, "Über den ungarischen Märchenschatz," *Acta Ethnographica*, XIV (1965), in press.

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